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of cantonments alone. American aviators are now flying in the aggregate over 100,000 miles daily. No one can doubt that the United States is baring her arm. To what extent we shall be supposed to extend these operations, to increase our army, to raise the age limit under the draft, does not yet appear. Secretary Baker, April 24, in his first appearance before the House Military Committee since his return from the Western battle front, said nothing about increasing our army beyond its present authorization, but added that he might appear later with some recommendations. At that hearing Mr. Baker quoted General Foch, French military leader in the command of the Allied forces, as follows: "I am not given to compliments, but what I want to say is that every one of our officers speaks in the very highest terms of the Americans under arms here."

Thus we are about the business. We at home must eat what is set before us and ask no questions for conscience sake. We shall wear what we can get. We shall hand over all that is asked of us. At a time when the very liberties of our America are at stake we shall not so forget our main purpose as even to chatter about the constitution and freedom of speech. Parties and denominations are now wholly insignificant terms. We are baring our arm to the immediate task of winning this war. Our casualty list now numbers over four thousand. No true lover of peace will interfere in any way with the winning and ending of this war.

EDITORIAL NOTES

Immigration Legislation.

Our Department of Labor and our Bureau of Education, not to mention our public schools, are striving with the difficulties of Americanizing our adult alien population. The operations of our selective draft have impressed upon the American mind more effectively than the census has been able to impress it, that illiteracy is more widely prevalent than we had supposed, not only among our aliens, but also among portions of our population of long American standing. Many have become citizens without any proper preparation. Races live in segregated groups of the Ghetto type, where they inbreed and develop in a manner contrary to the spirit of our free institutions, and threaten American standards of living. Our Constitution has not yet been remedied for the protection of aliens, and the differential treatment of Asiatics is permitted to continue in spite of the irritations and dangers which it threatens. So far, our Government has been unable to deal with these facts with justice or comprehension.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, it is proposed by a group of men, mostly of New York City, to organize a "League for Constructive Immigration Legislation" without definitely subscribing to a set program in advance. These gentlemen are thinking towards regulation of the rate of immigration, a federal bureau for the registration of aliens, a federal bureau for the distribution of immigrants, towards the education of aliens, the protection of the lives and property of aliens, and towards a higher standard of naturalization. When one thousand citizens from all parts of the United States have approved the spirit of this tentative program it is proposed to proceed in a public way to the formation of such a league.

This work is so clearly in the direction of a better international understanding and of a finer inter-racial goodwill, that the ADVOCATE OF PEACE welcomes the efforts of these gentlemen, wishes them godspeed, and promises its co-operation and support.

The Position of an International Law Society Today.

It is increasingly clear that the question before the world today is not whether we shall have this or that form of international law, but rather whether or not international law shall exist. The "Made in Germany" products which we are offered and which the allies are unanimously refusing are not international law but anarchy. We take pleasure in quoting a very clear statement of this situation made by the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law adopted at its meeting in Washington, Saturday, April 27, in which it declares that "the very existence of international law is now at issue." The statement continues:

The Committee on Annual Meeting has therefore refrained from calling the members of the Society from the active work on which most of them are engaged to meet for the discussion of questions of law. The only great question of international law today is whether that law shall continue to exist.

Upon that subject the American Society of International Law reaffirms the clear and unvarying support of the United States for the rule of law, expressed in the recognition of international law in the Federal Constitution, in the decisions of its highest court, and in the utterances of its Chief Magistrates and statesmen.

Mr. Webster, while Secretary of State, made this announcement:

Every nation, on being received, at her own request, into the circle of civilized governments, must understand that she not only attains rights of sovereignty and the dignity of national character, but that she binds herself to the strict and faithful observance of all those principles, laws, and usages which have obtained currency among civilized states, and which have for their object the mitigation of the miseries of war.

President Cleveland, in his special message in 1893, addressed to the Congress of the United States, said:

The law of nations is founded upon reasons and justice, and the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized State are equally applicable as between enlightened nations. The considerations that international law is without a court for its enforcement and that obedience to its commands practically depends upon good faith instead of upon the mandate of a superior tribunal, only give additional sanction to the law itself and brand any deliberate infraction of it not merely as a wrong, but as a disgrace. A man of true honor protects the unwritten word which binds his conscience more scrupulously, if possible, than he does the bond a breach of which subjects him to legal liabilities, and the United States, in aiming to maintain itself as one of the most enlightened nations, would do its citizens a gross injustice if it applied to its international relations any other than a high standard of honor and morality.

The Council would call attention to the fact that the entire diplomatic and consular service of all nations operates under the control and protection of international law. That therefore all the vast interests within the charge of these agencies must be left unserved and unadministered if the beneficent provisions of international law are abandoned or disregarded. They further venture to call attention to the fact that more than two-thirds of the surface of the globe is covered by the high seas, that no law is current thereon except international law, that noble branch of law, which President Wilson on April 2, 1917, addressing the Congress of the United States, declared had its "origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world." "By painful stage after stage," he said, "has that law been built up with meager enough results indeed after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view at least of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded."

To say no more than has been said as to international relations upon land if this one law and common rule which guards the traffic of the seas is allowed to lapse in that vast and preponderant domain, no measure of right and justice, no rule of humanity or restraint will remain, only the desolating condition which the vulgate ascribes to Hell, *Ubi nullus ordo sed sempiternus horror inhabitat*.

Therefore, those just and wise doctrines by which international relations are guided, humanized and controlled, can not be debilitated or abandoned. Therefore, they must be taught by our scholars, learned by our rising youth, declared and defined by our courts, announced by our Congress, enlarged by our treaties, and enforced by our Chief Executive.

Therefore, at need, our army upon the land and our navy upon the sea, with a spirit and devotion which have never declined, must maintain and defend them, not for the good of this nation or this time alone, but for the good of all nations and all men, now and forevermore.

It is needless to call the attention of the reader to the fact that this admirable statement pronounces very clearly the position that the American Peace Society has maintained since war was declared. The editors of

this magazine, therefore, are taking no unusual step in commending heartily the views of the Executive Council of the American Society of International Law.

Practical Internationalism.

It is so simple that it is now axiomatic that standardization is essential to group enterprises of any large nature. This is especially so for nations. Because of this our fathers provided in our Constitution for a decennial census, which Dr. S. N. D. North, formerly Director of the United States Census, says has been the most useful undertaking of the Government "in that it has given us a progressive record of material and sociological development covering the 139 years of our national existence." No international commerce can be successfully carried on except it be based upon statistics. The commercial data of various countries should be similarly combined, so that they may mean the same thing, be spoken of in the same terminology, and be compared with intelligence. Speaking before a section of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress in January, 1916, Dr. North gave an illustration of practical internationalism by repeating a plea which he had made at the first Pan American Scientific Congress at Santiago, 1908-1909, for "Uniformity and co-operation in the census methods of the republics of the American Continent." He shows in that address that "A periodical census is the only method by which an inventory of progress can be established for the guidance of her (Argentina) statesmen and people in solving the social and industrial problems which confront her." He argues that the same thing is true for Brazil, Chile, and, in varying degrees, for the other nations. He pleads for a "regularity of enumeration" if we are to have any "exact measure of population." He believes in "a uniform date" and a "uniformity in the half-dozen leading questions of a schedule" as the bases of an "international census." Without the statistics ascertained in such a manner both legislation and administration are balked at the very threshold. As Dr. North so well says: "We have no other safe guide by which to direct the consensus of public opinion and to measure the degree and intensity of that opinion—its waves and curves of advancement, or recession, or culmination." It is true that nations want to know all about other nations and that "they need to know all about themselves." Where there is little uniformity in classification, in terminology, and in units of measurement, there is a serious handicap for all international effort, international commerce and international justice included. It seems reasonable to work now for a standardized statistical report for the American republics, to the end

that we may have within the Western Hemisphere a greater uniformity in our methods of exchange, both in the realm of things and the realm of ideas. Canada adopted the decimal monetary system with the United States gold dollar as the unit of value in 1858. Mexico did the same in 1905. There should be a similar unification of the Central and South American monetary systems. We of this country should take further steps toward the adoption of the metric system of weights and measures now regularly employed in more than forty countries. Pan Americanism is no longer a dream. It will become more and more tangible if we provide for greater simplicity and accuracy by means of a developing standardization, particularly in the realms of commerce and finance.

Noblesse Disoblige.

Chancellor von Hertling says that the German Government agrees to recognize Lithuania as a free and independent State. It will be recalled that the Lithuanian National Council declared, December 11, 1917, that Lithuania shall be an independent State, united with Germany through eternal and close alliances, and asked Germany's protection and help in the reconstruction of the State. In reply to this declaration the German Chancellor said, March 24, that Germany recognized Lithuania as free and independent, and that the German Empire is prepared to lend Lithuania the required help. The ominous aspects of Germany's magnanimity are illy concealed by the Chancellor's words, which ran: "Conventions for the establishment of a confederation with the German Empire will be made. The Imperial Government presupposes that the conventions will be to Germany's interest as well as Lithuania's, and Lithuania will take a share of Germany's war burdens, which are promoting Lithuania's emancipation."

This is the same Chancellor who has broken off relations with Mathias Erzberger, leader of the Catholic Centrists in the Reichstag, and who forced the majority party to accept the government's new program for incorporating French territory and the coast of Flanders into the German Empire, and for levying large war indemnities on the Western powers.

But we have another illustration of German awkwardness and malversation from a quarter where we had least expected it. Mr. George Bartholome, for many years a resident of Washington, correspondent of the semi-official *Cologne Gazette*, the principal organ of the Kaiser's ministry of foreign affairs, a man who before we entered the war was on intimate terms with American statesmen of all classes, seems to have for-

gotten his many "friends" in America and the courtesies which were often extended to him. We are informed that he delivered a lecture recently at Cologne in which, says his paper, the *Gazette*, "he expressed himself with almost indescribable loathing and contempt of everything American." He described President Wilson as "an oily and hypocritical apostle of international law," as "a supermoralist," "a liar," "incapable of the truth." He pictures the rest of us in America as "childish" and "sentiment-loving." He adds that we are now conducting this "frivolous war" with all "the superficiality and absence of expert knowledge of which this utterly unmilitary people is capable."

It is not within the province of ADVOCATE OF PEACE to stir up and foster international animosities. In fact, we refer to these utterances of the German Chancellor and of our erstwhile "friend" simply to call attention to the way not to behave, if men are ever to co-operate in behalf of their life and development.

"Patriotic" Prussianism in Wisconsin.

A better memory for names than for faces is revealed in the American citizen where "Prussianism" is concerned. The label we attach here and there, zealously. The "intolerable Thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face" is not so quickly recognized when it does not bear its label conspicuously. Voters in the recent Wisconsin Senatorial election, declares the New York *Evening Post*, on the authority of the Milwaukee *Free Press*, were pestered and persecuted beyond all measure, hectoring and bullied, intimidated with threats of being esteemed traitors, unless they voted thus and so. These "overweening attempts to set up and enforce political and racial standards of loyalty" and "to hamstring constitutional rights," as the Wisconsin paper terms them, are probably as typical Prussian as anything to be found in Berlin or Potsdam. The spirit of them is the spirit of Ludendorff, the Crown Prince, and Hindenburg. That spirit our boys are risking all to exercise, and for this we are giving our best. Now, it is not extravagant to denounce a proven spy or a traitor, who when a people are sternly engaged in defense admits the enemy from the rear to fall upon the backs of the brave defenders; nor should it be deemed extravagant, disloyal, or unwise to denounce in clear English those traitors of the Wisconsin polls who proved so industrious in no less filthy a business. We cannot win the war with Prussianism as our ally. We cannot ride hamstrung constitutional rights to victory. We cannot bully a democratic people into the kind of warfare that must win against the bullying

tactics of autocracy. If we cannot win the war with these things, we must purge ourselves of them. We must see this clearly, and certain gentlemen in Wisconsin and forty-seven other States must understand it clearly.

**Democracy Is As
Democracy Does.** An instance of the practical value of uprooting and dispelling Prussianism in this country, however well it may be disguised as patriotism, appears in connection with the work that has been done among the Jugo-Slavs and other nationalities in California whose brothers abroad are subject to Teuton tyranny. This has been carried on by the California Immigration and Housing Commission. In certain districts where, through ignorance or misunderstanding, a hostile spirit was shown by the people of these nationalities, the Commission has sent among them agents speaking their languages, to explain clearly the objects of this country in the war, displaying prominently the object of securing justice to small and subject nationalities. The response has been instantaneous and highly gratifying, as measured by the acid test of War Savings Stamp sales. But the executive officer of the Commission, Mr. George L. Bell, has not hesitated to announce that if this good work is not to be nullified before it has had time to take root and grow, it is necessary that Americans, as well as the aliens, square their conduct with American ideals. Otherwise the hypocrisy of our attitude will be only too apparent—more quickly so to the newly appreciative aliens than to ourselves—and the greatest weapon we have in this war, our unquestioned freedom from ulterior motives, will be by so much impaired.

**Our Illinois
Atrocity.** The lynching of Robert P. Prager is another of those ghastly things in which the Prussian spirit loose in a community usually culminates. Certain of the sixteen men under indictment for this crime may be punished, but little will be accomplished thereby unless the fact be made clear and be allowed to sink in, that each similar evidence of mob rule is the tramp of a filthy boot upon our flag, a brute defiance of the liberty and justice we cherish elsewhere. Few have said this more clearly than that staunch American, Governor McCall of Massachusetts, speaking on April 10 before the Bridgeport Branch of the Connecticut Council of Defense, when he said:

Let us bear one thing in mind, that lawlessness at home and lynchings, the threats to boycott a language or a literature, do not express the great mood in which a great nation should express itself in a war like this. The atrocity in

western Illinois the other day was no more an outrage upon the victim of it than it was upon the American people. The brutality of lynching does not at all surpass its cowardice. Nothing more contemptibly cowardly can be imagined than for a crowd of armed men to seize a single unarmed man and put him to death. If such cowardice could be regarded as distinctive of a nation, no amount of heroism on the part of its soldiers in the field could make atonement for it.

There has been quite too much talk in our politics, even before the war, of hanging people to lamp-posts. The spirit of lawlessness has received an impulse from men who should be the leaders and teachers of the people. The first duty upon us, after supporting to the utmost our soldiers and our allies, is sternly to repress those barbarous exhibitions of lawlessness that have too often disgraced our country.

Those minds in which glimmer no distinction between a bayonet charge in France and a hanging in Illinois are exactly and self-evidently on a par with the mind that directs the butchery of civilians in invaded territories, that orders the systematic terrorization of women and children in a captured town, that achieves the wholesale draft of young girls as day laborers. So long as we permit in our midst these minds, unenlightened, uninspired to a conception of loyalty, patriotism, and good citizenship, by so much shall we drag out the war a bit longer, sacrifice a few more young lives in France, and the more impoverish ourselves in winning the victory that we must and will win over this mind abroad.

We believe with Irving S. Cobb, to quote one of his "Thunders of Silence" (Doran), that all of us had best be busy these days about "the task of knocking the 'mania' out of Germania," even though it does involve such complex problems as getting the Russ out of Prussia, or perhaps limiting to some extent the nip of Nippon, to say nothing of ridding the Dual Monarchy of a dual monarch. But at the same time we would declare that the one high duty of the American Peace Society, as well as of every other organization or individual in the United States that appreciates and understands the strength of the ideals with which we have entered the war, is to lend every effort to get and keep the "riot" out of "patriotism."

"Why should all that is generous and statesmanlike come from the other side of the ocean," demands a British newspaper, quoted elsewhere in this issue, "and all that is pettifogging from ours?" Such humility is a favorable sign, but *Britannia* takes herself a bit too seriously, perhaps. She should run over some morning and attend a "win-the-war" session of Congress.

While accusing ourselves of tardiness with our air program, let us not forget the British journalists' characterization of President Wilson's war addresses, as equal to "twelve army corps and a regiment of angels."